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CANADA

AND THE

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

AS THEIR

ANNUAL ADDRESS,

ON THE 31ST OF JANUARY, 1850.

BY

WILLIAM DUANE

PHILADELPHIA:
EDWARD GASKILL, FIFTH AND WALNUT STREETS.
1850.

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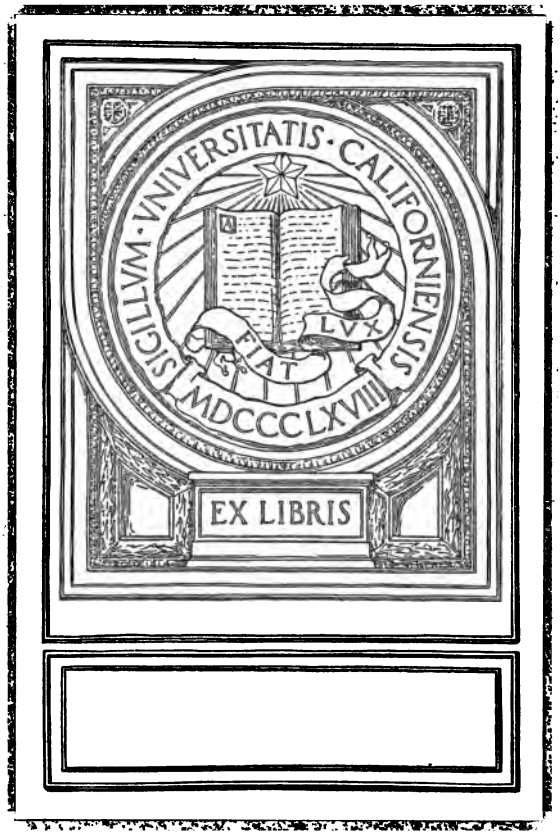

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

CANADA

AND

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

The treaty of 1762 secured to England that vast territory which the valour of Wolfe and his companions had won. France, at the same time, ceded Louisiana to Spain, and thus relinquished all her possessions in North America, and with them, the design, so long entertained and so industriously prosecuted, of erecting in the interior of the continent a chain of possessions capable of preventing the western growth of the British colonies.

The importance of their acquisition did not strike the minds of all the people of England. Whilst the treaty was in discussion, the government was urged by some to retain Guadaloupe in place of Canada. It would seem that they had derived their opinion of it from the derivation of its name given by Hennepin, whether correctly or not is questionable. Speaking of its Spanish discoverers he says, that "at their first arrival having found nothing considerable in it, they abandoned the country and called it *Il Capo di Nada*, that is the Cape of Nothing. Two of the Burkes wrote a pamphlet urging the government to prefer acquisitions in the West Indies to Canada. Others professed to see something desirable in Canada's being kept by the French, as it would *prove a check* upon the English colonies; a mild term, as was remarked by an American then in England, for the murdering of the colonists. Perhaps such advisers were beginning to foresee that it might be difficult for England to retain the colonies single-handed.

The inhabitants of the ceded province seem to have taken their change of masters very quietly. Simple minded and primitive in their manners, living as their forefathers had done and desiring no other mode of existence, they seem to have felt but little the shifting of the government from Paris to London. The good will

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of their priests was secured by granting toleration to their religion.

In the discontents then arising among their new fellow subjects to the south, the Canadians felt scarcely any interest. As the great bulk of them had no hereditary claim to the rights of Englishmen, they cared little for their being assailed among their their neighbours. Besides, the colonists of the British provinces had taken an active part in the subjugation of the late French provinces, and the ill feeling thus excited had not ceased with the termination of the war, whilst differences of religion, language, and manners prevented a kindly intercourse between the two races. It is said that the Anglo-Americans burnt some of the Canadian chapels, a mode of enlightening men respecting their religious errors unhappily not confined to that age, and as ineffectual then as it has ever proved.

These differences were not unpleasing to the British government, which entered into measures, partly conciliatory and partly restrictive, to deter the Canadians from uniting with the other colonists in the great movement then commencing. Still more to conciliate the priests, the Roman Catholic faith was made the established religion of the country, whilst all had the pleasure of seeing the English laws abolished and those of France restored. The bounds of the province were extended by annexation to the northward. To counterbalance these favours, the Canadian Assembly was abolished, and the people thus deprived of representatives with whom the other colonies might communicate.

In September, 1774, the Continental Congress met at Philadelphia. In the succeeding month they issued an address to the inhabitants of the colonies in which these changes in Canada are thus referred to:

"The authors of this arbitrary arrangement flatter themselves that the inhabitants, deprived of liberty, and artfully provoked against those of another religion, will be proper instruments for assisting in the oppression of such as differ from them in modes of government and faith."

On the same day (October 21, 1774,) the Congress resolved that an address to the people of Canada should be prepared, and Messrs. Cushing, Lee, and Dickinson were appointed a Committee to prepare it. The address, having been reported, debated upon, and re-committed, was again reported on the 20th of October, and, after debate and amendment, adopted. The address is understood to have been written by Mr. Dickinson, the author of the Farmer's Letters.

Styling the people of Quebec "Friends and fellow countrymen," and having enumerated the colonies represented in the Congress, and declared the object of their meeting to be "to consult together

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to obtain redress of our afflicting grievances," and adding that they considered their province as a member deeply interested in the state of public affairs on this continent, the address proceeds as follows:

"When the fortune of war, after a gallant and glorious resistance, had incorporated you with the body of *English* subjects, we rejoiced in the truly valuable addition, both on our own and your account; expecting, as courage and generosity are naturally united, our enemies would become our hearty friends, and that the Divine Being would bless to you the dispensations of his over-ruling providence, by securing to you and your latest posterity the inestimable advantages of a free English constitution of government, which it is the privilage of all English subjects to enjoy.

"These hopes were confirmed by the King's proclamation, issued in the year 1763, plighting the public faith for your full enjoyment of those advantages."

The address then proceeds to detail and enlarge upon the rights to which English subjects were entitled, namely, the right of having a share in their own government by representatives chosen by themselves, trial by jury, the liberty of the person secured by the writ of habeas corpus, the right of holding lands by tenure of easy rents, and not by rigorous and oppressive services, and lastly the freedom of the press.

"These (continues the address) are the invaluable rights that form a considerable part of our mild system of government; that sending its equitable energy through all ranks and classes of men, defends the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the industrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from their lords, and all from their superiors.

"These are the rights without which a people cannot be free and happy, and under the protecting and encouraging influence of which, these colonies have hitherto so amazingly flourished and increased. These are rights [which] a profligate ministry are now striving by force of arms to ravish from us, and which we are, with one mind, resolved never to resign but with our lives.

"These are the rights you are entitled to and ought at this moment in perfection to exercise."

The address proceeds to shew that these rights had not been secured to the Canadians, and that the favours recently shown them were more specious than real, and the enjoyment of these altogether precarious. "With such a superlative contempt of your understanding and spirit has an insolent ministry presumed to think of you, our respectable fellow subjects, according to the information we have received, as firmly to persuade themselves that your gratitude, for the injuries and insults they have recently offered you, will engage you to take up arms and render yourselves the

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ridicule and detestation of the world, by becoming tools in their hands, to assist them in taking that freedom from *us* which they have threateningly denied to *you;* the unavoidable consequences of which attempt, if successful, would be the extinction of all hopes of you or your posterity's being ever restored to freedom: for idiocy itself cannot believe that, when their drudgery is performed, they will treat you with less cruelty than they have us who are of the same blood with themselves."

After quoting the opinions of Montesquieu respecting the rights of the people in a free state, the address asks:

"What advice would that truly great man, that advocate of liberty and humanity, give you, was he now living and knew that we, your numerous and powerful neighbours, animated by a just love of our invaded rights, and united by the indissoluble bonds of affection and interest, called upon you by every obligation of regard for yourselves and your children, as we now do, to join us in our rightful contest, to make common cause with us therein, and take a noble chance for emerging from a humiliating subjection under governors, intendants, and military tyrants, into the firm rank and condition of *English* freemen, whose custom it is, derived from their ancestors, to make those tremble who dare to think of making them miserable?

"Would not this be the purport of his address? 'Seize the opportunity presented to you by Providence itself. You have been conquered into liberty, if you act as you ought. This work is not of men. You are a small people compared to those who with open arms invite you into a fellowship. A moment's reflection will convince you which will be most for your interest and happiness, to have all the rest of North America your unalterable friends or your inveterate enemies. The injuries of *Boston* have roused and associated every colony from *Nova Scotia* to *Georgia.* Your province is the only link wanting to complete the bright and strong chain of union. Nature has joined your country to theirs. Do you join your political interests. For their own sakes they never will desert or betray you. Be assured that the happiness of a people inevitably depends on their liberty and their spirit to assert it. The value and extent of the advantages tendered to you are immense. Heaven grant that you may not discover them to be blessings after they have bid you an eternal adieu.'"

The address then refers to the difference of religion between the two people, but reminds them of the Swiss Cantons as furnishing proof that men of different faiths may live in concord and peace together.

For what ends the Congress sought the co-operation of the Canadians is thus specified. "We do not ask you to commence acts of hostility against the government of our common sovereign.

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We only invite you to consult your own glory and welfare, and not to suffer yourselves to be inveigled or intimidated by infamous ministers, so far as to become the instruments of their cruelty and despotism; but to unite with us in the social compact, formed on the generous principles of equal liberty, and cemented by such an exchange of beneficial and endearing offices, as to render it perpetual. In order to complete this highly desirable union, we submit it to your consideration whether it may not be expedient for you to meet together in your several towns and districts and elect deputies, who afterwards meeting in a Provincial Congress, may choose delegates to represent your Province in the Continental Congress to be held at Philadelphia, on the 10th day of May, 1775.

"In this present Congress, beginning on the fifth of last month, and continued to this day, it has been with universal pleasure and an unanimous vote resolved, that we should consider the violation of your rights, by the act for altering the government of your Province, as a violation of our own, and that you should be invited to accede to our confederation, which has no other objects than the perfect security of the natural and civil rights of all the constituent members, according to their respective circumstances, and the preservation of a happy and lasting connection with Great Britain, on the salutary and constitutional principles hereinbefore mentioned. For affecting these purposes we have addressed an humble and loyal petition to his majesty, praying relief of our and your grievances; and have associated to stop all importations from Great Britain and Ireland after the first day of December, and all exportations to those kingdoms and the West Indies after the tenth of next September: unless the said grievances are redressed.

"That Almighty God may incline your minds to approve our equitable and necessary measures, to add yourselves to us, to put your fate, whenever you suffer injuries which you are determined to oppose, not on the small influence of your single Province, but on the consolidated powers of North America; and may grant to our joint exertions an event as happy as our cause is just, is the fervent prayer of your sincere and affectionate friends and fellow subjects."

The Address was signed by Henry Middleton, of North Carolina, the President, at that time, of the Congress.

The delegates of the Province of Pennsylvania were appointed to superintend the translating, printing, publishing, and distributing of the address, and the Congress recommended to the delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, and New York, to assist in having it circulated.

On the 11th of May, 1775, the Congress re-assembled, meeting in the State House. The state of affairs had very materially

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changed since their adjournment. Blood had been shed at Lexington, and men, finding the inutility of Petitions and Remonstrances, were gradually coming to the conclusion that an appeal to arms was all that was left them.

On the twenty-seventh of the same month, the Congress, having been informed that there was a gentleman in town who could "give a full and just account of the state of affairs in Canada," directed him to be introduced, which was done. What was his name and what the substance of his information is not mentioned in the journal; possibly from motives of prudence. Two days afterwards another address, entitled, "To the oppressed inhabitants of Canada," brought in by a committee consisting of Messrs. Jay, Samuel Adams, and Deane, was adopted by Congress, and ordered to be translated into the French language and circulated. After referring to the former address as having been dictated by a sense of common danger, that now issued proceeds as follows:

"We most sincerely condole with you on the arrival of that day in the course of which the sun could not shine on a single freeman in all your extensive dominions. Be assured that your unmerited degradation has engaged the most unfeigned pity of your sister colonies; and we flatter ourselves you will not, by tamely bearing the yoke, suffer that pity to be supplanted by contempt.

"When lordly attempts are made to deprive men of rights bestowed by the Almighty, when avenues are cut through the most solemn compacts, for the admission of despotism, when the plighted faith of government ceases to give security to dutiful subjects, and when the insidious stratagems and manœuvres of peace become more terrible than the sanguinary operations of war, it is high time for them to assert those rights, and with honest indignation oppose the torrent of oppression rushing in upon them."

The political situation of the Canadians is thus pictured:

"By the introduction of your present form of government, or rather present form of tyranny, you and your wives and your children are made slaves. You have nothing that you can call your own, and all the fruits of your labour and your industry may be taken from you whenever an avaricious governor and a rapacious council may incline to demand them. You are liable by their edicts to be transported into foreign countries to fight battles in which you have no interest, and to spill your blood in conflicts from which neither honour nor emolument can be derived. Nay, the enjoyment of your very religion on the present system depends on a legislature in which you have no share, and over which you have no control; and your priests are exposed to expulsion, banishment and ruin, whenever their wealth and

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possessions furnish sufficient temptation. They cannot be sure that a virtuous prince will always fill the throne, and should a wicked or careless king concur with a wicked ministry in extracting the treasure and strength of your country, it is impossible to conceive to what variety and to what extremes of wretchedness you may under the present establishment be reduced."

It is worth noting, this reference to "*a virtuous king.*" Was it one of the last efforts of expiring royalty, or really a refined irony? In another year the Congress spoke of George III. in language altogether unequivocal.

"We are informed (continues the address) that you have been already called upon to waste your lives in a contest with us. Should you by complying in this instance assent to your new establishment, and a war break out with France, your wealth and your sons may be sent to perish in expeditions against their islands in the West Indies. It cannot be presumed that these considerations have no weight with you, or that you are so lost to all sense of honour. We can never believe that the present race of Canadians are so degenerate as to possess neither the spirit, the gallantry, nor the courage of their ancestors. You certainly will not permit the infamy and disgrace of such pusillanimity to rest on your own heads, and the consequences of it on your children forever?

"We, for our parts, are determined to live free or not at all, and are resolved that posterity shall never reproach us with having brought slaves into the world.

"Permit us again to repeat that we are your friends, not your enemies, and be not imposed upon by those who may endeavour to create animosities. The taking of the fort and military stores at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the armed vessels on the lake, was dictated by the great law of self preservation. They were intended to annoy us and to cut off that friendly intercourse which has hitherto subsisted between you and us. We hope it has given you no uneasiness, and you may rely upon our assurance that the colonies will pursue no measures whatever but such as friendship and a regard for our mutual safety and interest may suggest.

"As our concern for your welfare entitles us to your friendship, we presume you will not by doing us injury reduce us to the disagreeable necessity of treating you as enemies.

"We yet entertain hopes of your uniting with us in the defense of our common liberty, and there is yet reason to believe that should we join in imploring the attention of our sovereign to the unmerited and unparalleled oppression of American subjects, he will at length be undeceived, and forbid a licentious ministry any longer to riot in the ruins of the rights of mankind."

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As a further evidence of their pacific designs towards the Canadians, the Congress on the first of June, 1775, *Resolved*, That as they "had nothing more in view than the defense of the colonies," "no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made by any colony or body of colonies against or into Canada, and that this resolve be immediately transmitted to the commander of the forces at Ticonderoga," and further that this "resolve be translated into the French language and transmitted with the letter to the inhabitants of Canada."

The capture of Ticonderoga had been planned by a few gentlemen in Connecticut, who entrusted its execution to the celebrated Ethan Allen, of Vermont. Its capture was affected by less than three hundred men, and the commander was surprised in bed and summoned to surrender "in the name of the Lord Jehovah, and the Continental Congress." That this capture and that of Crown Point which shortly afterwards followed, had been intended as measures of precaution and as indispensable to maintaining a communication with the Canadians, may be very true, but circumstances soon led to more decided steps. The Addresses of the Congress, however eloquent and conclusive, made but little impression upon a people, scarcely any of whom could read. The presence of an armed force was deemed likely to have an effect upon the Canadians favourable to the Continental cause, especially if that force should prove triumphant. Accordingly, about three months after the adoption of the resolution against any invasion of Canada, two were undertaken, one under Montgomery, who advanced by way of St. John's upon the St. Lawrence river; the other under Arnold, (who had shared in the capture of Ticonderoga) by the Kennebec, and what was then an unbroken wilderness between its sources and those of the tributaries of the St. Lawrence. Of this latter expedition it is unnecessary here to speak, our society having not long since presented to the reading world a most valuable contribution to history in the journal of Dr. Senter, who accompanied this heroic band as surgeon. Of the doings of the army under Montgomery some details are necessary. St. John's was the first British post attacked, but the great scarcity of powder prevented its capture. To secure a supply, Chambleé, a fort about six miles from St. John's, was reduced, and its artillery and powder carried off and used in the siege of the latter. An attempt to repel them made under the command of Gen. Carlton, proved unsuccessful, and the fort fell into the possession of the Americans. A large supply of cannons, mortars and powder rewarded the victors, whose prisoners numbered five hundred.

Montreal submitted to them without resistance about the middle of November. This, with the subsequent capture of a number of boats in the river, gave them a full supply of ammunition and

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clothing. Meanwhile, the party under Arnold, or rather that part of it which had successfully overcome difficulties before which a large portion of the expedition shrunk back appalled, reached the St. Lawrence, and, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, appeared before Quebec. Here, however, the want of artillery reduced him to inaction.

Leaving Montreal, Montgomery hastened to join Arnold in front of Quebec, then the capital of the province. Preparations were made to assail the city, which, with equal zeal, was put in a state of defence by Carlton. The works of the invaders were constructed of snow rendered solid by water, but the cannon in their possession proved too light to be effective, and the siege was soon but languishingly prosecuted. This did not suit Montgomery, and a council of war was held, which agreed to his proposition for an assault. This was attempted in two divisions, one under the commander in chief, the other under Arnold. About one hundred of the assailants were slain, among whom was Montgomery. Arnold received a ball in his leg, his most honorable wound. The American prisoners amounted to about three hundred, a number that the invading army could ill spare.

The remnant under Arnold, who succeeded to the command, were withdrawn to a spot about three miles from the city, and posted as advantageously as possible for maintaining the blockade. To the sufferings incident to a Canadian winter, the ravages of disease were now added: the small pox broke out among them with great violence.

Montgomery fell on the last day of the year 1775. How soon the news of this fatal event reached the Congress, we cannot say, but it must have been several weeks afterwards. On the 8th of January, 1776, the Congress resolved that ship builders should be sent immediately from New York and Philadelphia to General Schuyler or the Commander in Chief of the forces at Ticonderoga, to be employed in constructing a number of batteaux, not exceeding one hundred, for transporting troops and their baggage into Canada whenever necessary.

On the same day they ordered a battalion of Canadians to be raised, under the command of James Livingston, and that nine battalions, this included, should be maintained during the year for the defense of Canada. The First Pennsylvania Battalion, Colonel Ball, and the Second New Jersey Battalion, Colonel Maxwell, were selected as part of the force, and ordered to march immediately to Albany, and put themselves under the command of General Schuyler. To complete the number proposed, a battalion was ordered to be raised in New Hampshire, one in Connecticut, and one in New York; two were ordered to be formed out of the troops then in Canada, proper officers for which were to be

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recommended by Gen. Montgomery, and one of the five new regiments shortly before ordered to be raised in Pennsylvania was to be the ninth.

On the nineteenth of January it was resolved that the American army in Canada be reinforced with all proper despatch as well for the security and relief of our friends there, as for better securing the rights and liberties not only of that colony but the other united colonies.

An express was ordered to be sent to the Committee of Safety of New Jersey, and an application to be made to that of Pennsylvania immediately, to quicken the officers employed in levying the forces directed to be raised in those colonies and marched to Canada. The troops were ordered to be forwarded in companies with the greatest expedition.

The Congress meanwhile had resolved to send Commissioners to Canada, and on the 20th of March, 1776, their instructions having been duly debated, were adopted as follows:

"GENTLEMEN:—You are with all convenient despatch to repair to Canada and make known to the people of that country the wishes and intentions of the Congress in respect to them.

"Represent to them that the arms of the United Colonies having been carried into that Province for the purpose of frustrating the designs of the British Court against our common liberties, we expect to defeat not only the hostile machinations of Governor Carlton against us, but we shall put into the power of our Canadian brethren to pursue such measures for their own freedom and happiness as a generous love of liberty and sound policy shall dictate to them.

"Inform them that in our judgment their interests and ours are inseparably united; that it is impossible we can be reduced to a servile submission to Great Britain without their sharing our fate; and on the other hand, if we shall obtain, as we doubt not we shall, a full establishment of our rights, it depends wholly on their choice whether they will participate with us in those blessings or still remain subject to every act of tyranny which British ministers shall please to exercise over them. Urge all such arguments as your prudence shall suggest, to enforce our opinion concerning the mutual interests of the two countries, and to convince them of the impossibility of the war's being concluded to the disadvantage of the colonies if we wisely and vigorously co-operate with each other.

"To convince them of the uprightness of our intentions towards them, you are to declare that it is our inclination that the people of Canada may set up such a form of government as will be most likely, in their judgment, to produce their happiness: and you are in the strongest terms to assure them that it is our earnest

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desire to adopt them into our union as a sister colony, and to secure the same general system of mild and equal laws for them and for ourselves, with only such local differences as may be agreeable to each colony respectively.

"Assure the people of Canada that we have no apprehension that the French will take any active part with Great Britain; but that it is their interest, and we have reason to believe their inclination, to cultivate a friendly intercourse with these colonies.

"You are from this and from such other reasons as may appear most proper, to urge the necessity the people are under of immediately taking some decisive step to put themselves under the protection of the United Colonies. For expediting such a measure you are to explain our method of collecting the sense of the people and conducting our affairs regularly by Committees of Observation and Inspection in the several districts, and by Conventions and Committees of Safety in the several colonies. Recommend these modes to them. Explain to them the nature and principles of government among freemen; developing in contrast to those, the base, cruel, and insidious designs involved in the late Act of Parliament for making a more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec. Endeavour to stimulate them by notions of glory as well as interest, to assume a part in a contest by which they must be deeply affected; and to aspire to a portion of that power by which they must be ruled; and not to remain the mere spoil and prey of conquerors and lords.

"You are further to declare that we hold sacred the rights of conscience, and may promise to the whole people solemnly in our name, the free and uninterrupted exercise of their religion, and to the clergy the full, perfect, and peaceable possession and enjoyment of all their estates; that the government of every thing relating to their religion and clergy shall be left entirely in the hands of the good people of that Province, and such legislation as they shall constitute, provided, however, that all other denominations of christians be equally entitled to hold offices and enjoy civil privileges and the free exercise of their religion, and be totally exempt from the payment of any tithes or taxes for the support of any religion.

"Inform them that you are vested with full powers to effect these purposes; and therefore press them to have a full representation of the people assembled in convention with all proper expedition, to deliberate concerning the establishment of a form of government and an union with the United Colonies. As to the terms of union, insist on the propriety of their being similar to those on which the other colonies unite. Should they object to this, report to this Congress the objections, and the terms on which alone they will come into our union. Should they agree to our terms, you are to

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promise in the name of the United Colonies, that we will defend and protect the people of Canada against all enemies in the same manner that we will defend and protect any of the United Colonies.

"You are to establish a free press, and to give directions for the frequent publication of such pieces as may be of service to the cause of the United Colonies.

"You are to settle all disputes between the Canadians and the Continental troops, and to make such regulations relating thereto as you shall judge proper.

"In reforming any abuses you may observe in Canada, and enforcing regulations for the preservation of peace and good order there, and composing differences between the troops of the United States and the Canadians, all officers and soldiers are required to yield obedience to you; and to enforce the decisions that you or any two of you may make, you are empowered to suspend any military officer from the execution of his commission, till the pleasure of Congress shall be known, if you or any two of you shall think it expedient.

"You are also empowered to sit and vote as members of councils of war, in directing fortifications and defences to be made or to be demolished, by land or by water; and to draw orders on the President for any sums of money not exceeding $100,000 in the whole for the expense of the works.

"Lastly, you are by all the means you can use to promote the execution of the resolutions now made or hereafter to be made in Congress."

To these instructions the following were on motion added:

"You are also directed and authorised to assure the inhabitants of Canada that their commerce with foreign nations shall in all respects be put upon an equal footing with, and encouraged and protected in the same manner as the trade of the United Colonies.

"You are also directed to use every wise and prudent measure to introduce and give credit and circulation to the Continental money in Canada.

"In case the former resolution of Congress respecting the English American troops in Canada has not been carried into effect, you are directed to use your best endeavours for forming a battalion of the New York troops in that country, and to appoint the field and other officers out of the gentlemen who have continued there during the campaign, according to their respective ranks and merit. And if it should be found impracticable, you are to direct such of them as are provided for in the four battalions now raising in New York, to repair to their respective corps. To enable you to carry this resolution into effect, you are furnished with blank commissions signed by the President."

The draft of the commission was then adopted. The three

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Commissioners were Benjamin Franklin, a delegate to the Congress from Pennsylvania, Samuel Chase, one of the delegates from Maryland, and Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, in Maryland, subsequently also a delegate. The various titles of the delegates were somewhat ostentatiously set forth, but this may have been intended as a mark of respect to those to whom they were sent.

The Commissioners were accompanied by the Rev. John Carroll of Maryland, a Roman Catholic clergyman, who subsequently became Archbishop of Baltimore. They left Philadelphia in the latter part of March, 1776, New York on the second of April, ascending the Hudson in a sloop, and did not reach Montreal until the twenty-ninth of the month, the distance being about four hundred miles; which, as the editor of Charles Carroll's journal of the expedition notes, is now performed in two days. This journey was not one then that would be selected for a pleasure trip. Great part of the country through which they passed was then a wilderness, and they had to struggle through the snow and ice attendant upon a Canadian spring. Tents made of brush-wood were occasionally their resting places. Two days spent with General Schuyler at Albany appear to have been the pleasantest part of their journey, and the charms of his "daughters, (Betsy and Peggy) lively, agreeable, black eyed girls," are duly chronicled. The former of these ladies still survives,—the widow of Alexander Hamilton.

On reaching Montreal, we were "received (says Charles Carroll in his Journal) by General Arnold on our landing, in the most polite and friendly manner; conducted to head quarters, where a genteel company of ladies and gentlemen had assembled to welcome our arrival. As we went from the landing place to the General's house, the cannon of the citadal fired a compliment to us as the Commissioners of Congress. We supped at that General's, and after supper were conducted by the General and other gentlemen to our lodgings—the house of Mr. Thomas Walker—the best built and perhaps the best furnished house in this town."

The Commissioners made but little impression upon the Canadians. There had been some small show of a party in favour of union with the other Colonies while the Americans were successful, but since the fall of Montgomery the cause of the invaders had come to a stand. On the 11th of May, Dr. Franklin, whose health had been much impaired by the journey, and who saw clearly the hopelessness of their mission, set out to return to Congress. The Rev. Mr. Carroll accompanied him, and the kindness displayed by him during the journey was not forgotten. Through Franklin's recommendation whilst minister at the Court of France, Mr. Carroll was placed at the head of the Roman Catholic clergy in the United States, which opened the way to his

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subsequent promotion to the Archepiscopate. His virtues and learning did honour to the office.

The Congress spared no efforts to maintain the ground that had been gained in Canada. A Committee of Congress was appointed to consult with Generals Washington, Green and Mifflin, upon the recommendation of which committee it was resolved (May 24, 1776,) "that the commanding officer in Canada be informed that Congress is fully convinced of the absolute necessity of keeping possession of that country, and that they expect that the forces in that department will contest every foot of ground with the enemies of these colonies; and as Congress have in view the cutting off [of] all communication between the upper country and the enemy, they judge it highly necessary that the exertions of the forces be particulary made in the St. Lawrence below the mouth of the Sorell."

The army unfortunately was not in a condition to make much exertion anywhere. The forces in front of Quebec amounted to about three thousand men, but more than two thousand were suffering under the ravages of the small pox.

On the sixth of May, some vessels with reinforcements for the British army reached Quebec, whereupon the Americans commenced a retreat. The greater part of the military stores and all the sick were left behind. The retiring army halted at a place called the Cedars, about forty miles above Quebec, where they were reinforced. Their commander, General Thomas, here died of the small pox, and was succeeded by General Thompson, who was soon after taken prisoner in an unsuccessful attempt made to surprise a division of the British army lying at Three Rivers. General Sullivan took command and ordered a retreat to Montreal. He conducted the movement in a very creditable manner, bringing off all the baggage and public stores, and even all the sick.

The letter from the Commissioners to the Congress dated Montreal, May 27th, being the last which they wrote, gives a melancholy picture of the condition of the army of invasion. They say, "We went to the mouth of the Screl last week where we found all things in confusion; there is little or no discipline among your troops, nor can any be kept up while the practice of enlisting for a twelvemonth continues; the general officers are all of this opinion. Your army is badly paid, and so exhausted is your credit that even a cart cannot be procured without ready money or force. The army is in a distressed condition, and is in want of the most necessary articles—meat, bread, tents, shoes, stockings, shirts, &c. The greatest part of those that fled from Quebec left all their baggage behind them, or it was plundered by those whose times were out. Your army in Canada does not exceed four thousand; above four hundred are sick with different disorders, three fourths

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of the army have not had the small pox. The greater part of Greaton's, Bond's, and Burrell's regiments have been lately innoculated. There are about eight tons of gunpowder in the colony. To evince the great distress we are reduced to for the want of bread, we must inform you that we were obliged to buy thirty loaves of bread of our baker to feed Col. De Haas's detachment, which entered this town Friday night on their way to join General Arnold at *La Chine*, and who could not be supplied by the Commissary. Such is our extreme want of flour that we were yesterday obliged to seize by force fifteen barrels to supply this garrison with bread. Previous to this seizure a general order was issued to the town major to wait on the merchants or others having provisions or merchandise for sale, requesting a delivery of what our troops are in immediate want of, and requiring him to give a receipt expressing the quantity delivered; for the payment of which the faith of the United colonies is pledged by your Commissioners. Nothing but the most urgent necessity can justify such harsh measures: but men with arms in their hands will not starve when provisions can be obtained by force. To prevent a general plunder which might end in the massacre of your troops, and of many of the inhabitants, we have been constrained to advise the general to take this step. We cannot conceal our concern that six thousand men should be ordered to Canada, without taking care to have magazines formed for their subsistence, cash to pay them or to pay the inhabitants for their labour, in transporting the baggage, stores, and provisions of the army. We cannot find words strong enough to express our miserable situation; you will have a faint idea of it, if you figure to yourselves an army broken and disheartened, half of it under innoculation or other diseases; soldiers without pay, without discipline, and altogether reduced to live from hand to mouth, depending on the scanty and precarious supplies of a few half starved cattle and trifling quantities of flour, which have hitherto been picked up in different parts of the country.

"Your soldiers grumble for their pay;—if they receive it they will not be benefitted, as it will not procure them the necessaries they stand in need of. Your military chest contains but eleven thousand paper dollars. You are indebted to your troops treble that sum, and to the inhabitants above fifteen thousand dollars."

To such a state of affairs there could be but one end. The Congress struggled hard against the necessity of evacuating Canada. On the 17th of June, 1776, they resolved that an experienced General should be immediately sent into Canada, with large powers of appointment and supervision, and they directed General Washinton to send General Gates to take command of the forces there. Some efforts were at the same time made to send

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reinforcements to the army. On the 11th of that month, Messrs. Chase and Carroll had attended the Congress and given an account of their doings in Canada, and of the state of the army in that country. This account appears to have been verbal.

A committee appointed to investigate the causes of the miscarriages in Canada reported:

"That the enlistments of the Continental troops in Canada have been one great cause of the miscarriages there, by rendering unstable the number of men engaged in military enterprises, by making them disorderly and disobedient to their officers, and by precipitating the commanding officers into measures which their prudence might have postponed could they have relied on a longer continuance of their troops in service.

"That the want of hard money has been one other great source of the miscarriages in Canada, rendering the supplies of necessaries difficult and precarious, the establishment of proper magazines absolutely impracticable, and the pay of the troops of little use to them.

"That a still greater and more fatal source of misfortunes has been the prevalence of the small-pox in that army; a great proportion whereof has thereby been usually kept unfit for duty."

In these views the Congress concurred.

The Congress had directed that a printing apparatus and hands competent to print in French and English should accompany this mission. Whether the apparatus was taken is not clear; but Mesplét, a French printer, accompanied the Commissioners. It was found easier, however, to print than to find readers, not one in five hundred being able to read. The priests, who monopolised all the learning and most of the intelligence of the French population, had been prudently conciliated, as we have seen, by the British government. In reference to their failure to make an impression with the documents and addresses that were printed, Dr. Franklin remarked that if it were intended to send another mission it should be composed of schoolmasters; in connection with which it may be observed that the incursions of Yankee schoolmasters into Canada, armed with school books inculcating republican sentiments, has been a source of complaint with the most loyal of the Canadians for the last twenty years.

General Gates took command of the remains of the army, which he collected at Ticonderoga. A naval engagement on Lake Champlain followed, in which the American fleet, commanded by Arnold, was compelled to fly before a superior force under General Carlton. Arnold ran his vessels on shore, landed his men and burnt his little fleet. This was the closing scene of the invasion of Canada, which had opened with such high prospects of success.

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Dr. Franklin, when assisting in preparing the treaty of peace at Paris, was very desirous that Canada should be given up to the United States. "He said," observed Mr. Sparks "there could be no solid and permanent peace without it; that it would cost the British government more to keep it than it was worth; it would be a source of future difficulties with the United States, and some day or other it must belong to them; and it was for the interest of both parties that it should be ceded in the treaty of peace. Yet he did not think it proper to urge such a cession as a necessary condition of peace, especially since Congress had forborne to instruct the Commissioners on this subject, and since there was no claim on France by the treaty of alliance to sustain such a demand, as the pledge in that treaty was only to insure the Independence of the old thirteen Colonies, and Canada was not one of them." Mr. Oswald, one of the British Commissioners, "in his conversations with Dr. Franklin, gave it as his opinion that Canada should be given up to the United States, and said that when he mentioned it to the ministers, though they spoke cautiously they did not express themselves as decidedly opposed to the measure. It was not pressed, however, by the American Commissioners, and it would not seem to have been much dwelt upon in the subsequent progress of the negotiation."

Two attempts have been made to wrest Canada from the British government by force of arms: both have failed. Yet the adoption of Canada into our family of confederated states is now a more probable event than it was at the most prosperous period of either of our wars with Great Britain. The people of that Province have long been watching with interest the progress of the United States, and, finding no sufficient explanation in climate, soil and productions for the great difference between that progress and their own, they have been led to regard the different forms of government as the main cause. The mission of the schoolmaster has been doing its work.

The English government must soon begin to perceive, as the people have already done, that Canada costs them more than it is worth, and that in the event of its independence they would still have the Canadians for their customers, and to a much larger extent than at present.

To the people of the United States, Canada would be welcome now as in 1776. Practically the Union is no larger to-day than during the revolution, such changes have been made in the facilities of travel and communication from one extreme to the other. The The news of the surrender of Charleston (S. C.) was a month in reaching Philadelphia by express. In less time we now hear from California. With our beautiful system of the division of power between the general and the state governments, it would be

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difficult to say whether the North American Union can ever be too large.

To the Canadians, our system presents one striking advantage. The struggle between the two races that has been going on for years would be at once and forever terminated by the admission of Upper and Lower Canada as two States. Thereafter the internal concerns of each would be managed as would best suit its own interest, and there would be no more reason for heartburnings between the British of Upper Canada, and the French of the Lower Province, than there now is for ill-feeling between the descendants of the French settlers in Louisiana, and those of English origin in Mississippi or Arkansas. A generous rivalry which should make the most progress in civilization, learning, and material improvement, would succeed the senseless yet bitter animosity of race.

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